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C E R T I F I C A T E

I hereby certify that the annexed document 2863-PS No. USA - 92 is a photostat of an original document submitted in evidence by the United States Prosecution under this number. The original document has been withdrawn in accordance with Rule 10 of the International Military Tribunal, and to the best of my knowledge and belief is to be held at the National Archives, Washington D.C. .

Nuremberg, 24 June 1948

Paul Joosten

PAUL A. JOOSTEN

General Secretary
International Military
Tribunal

OFFICE OF U.S. CHIEF OF COUNSEL FOR WAR CRIMES

EVIDENCE DIVISION

Date : OCT 29 1946

I certify that Document Number 2863 PS was introduced into evidence as Exhibit Number USA 92 in the Trial by the International Tribunal of Hermann GOERING, et al, which commenced on 20 November 1945, and that the attached photostat is a true and correct copy of the original.

Fred Niebergall

Fred NIEBERGALL
Chief, Document
Control Branch.

H2353 - 0003

H2353 – 0004

FOUR FIGHTING YEARS

PUBLISHED ON BEHALF OF THE
CZECHOSLOVAK MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(Department of Information)

HUTCHINSON & CO. (*Publishers*) LTD.
LONDON : NEW YORK : MELBOURNE
1943

"Only a gigantic natural catastrophe which destroyed our nation could bring about a one-sided solution. We must come to an understanding. Whether we like each other or not doesn't matter very much. The essential thing is that after England's defeat we shall give a new peace to Europe. You are all cordially invited to participate in this."

It was in this speech that the admission was first made that the establishment of the Protectorate was primarily in the interests of the German Reich, of the German nation, and of the German settlement of Europe. Through the whole speech there is the implicit admission that the Protectorate is something unfavourable to the Czechs, something to which they must become reconciled. Goebbels even admits that the Czechs would be doing a service to the German Reich if they would whole-heartedly accept the Protectorate. The spirit of this speech was the guiding note of Nazi propaganda during the whole next phase of the war, right up to the attack on the Soviet Union. The same spirit characterized numerous utterances of the then Reich Protector, Baron von Neurath, and his Secretary of State, Karl Hermann Frank.

A further approach towards an admission by authoritative quarters of the Third Reich about the German plans for Europe and especially about the aims of the pre-war struggle for 'autonomy' for the Czechoslovak Germans was Konrad Henlein's lecture on the 'fight for the liberation of the Sudetens' delivered in Vienna on March 4, 1941. In this lecture Henlein said: "National Socialism soon swept over us Sudeten Germans. Our struggle was of a different character from that in Germany. Although we had to behave differently in public we were, of course, secretly in touch with the National Socialist revolution in Germany so that we might be a part of it. The struggle for Greater Germany was waged on Sudeten soil, too. This struggle could be waged only by those inspired by the spirit of National Socialism, persons who were true followers of our Fuehrer, whatever their outward appearance. Fate sought me out to be the leader of the national group in its final struggle. When . . . in autumn, 1933, the leaders of the NSDAP asked me to take over the political leadership of the Sudeten Germans, I had a difficult problem to solve. Should the National Socialist Party continue to be carried on illegally or should the movement, in the interest of the self-preservation of the Sudeten Germans and in order to prepare their return to the Reich, wage its struggle under camouflage and by methods which appeared quite legal to the outside world? For us Sudeten Germans only the second alternative seemed possible, for the preservation of our national group was at stake. It would certainly have been easier to exchange this hard and mentally exhausting struggle for the heroic gesture of confessing allegiance to National Socialism and entering a Czechoslovak prison. But it seemed more than doubtful whether by this means we could

H2353 – 0005

have fulfilled the political task of destroying Czechoslovakia as a bastion in the alliance against the German Reich."

The Swedish journalist, Almstedt, commenting on this speech of Henlein's in the paper *Aftontidning*, wrote: 'This quotation tells the whole story. Henlein admits that when he founded his party he meant to fool the world, and he is proud of it.'

A particularly striking picture of the true significance of the establishment of the Protectorate was given in the speech made by Ernst Frank, the Nazi German writer from Czechoslovakia, in the German transmission from the Prague radio on October 2, 1942. This speech gives briefly the most truthful explanation of the significance of the establishment of the Protectorate: "Czechoslovakia's path was a wrong path. The Sudeten Germans have returned to their larger homeland. Bohemia and Moravia have been reintegrated into the *Ordnungsbereich* to which they belong by history and nature. To-day only a language barrier separates the Reich from the Protectorate. This barrier, however, does not need to be a permanent one once the two nations are successfully won over for the new ideas which to-day bring a period of rebirth to Europe and the world. The ideological tendency of the period between 1848 and 1938 is obsolete. As soon as the Czech people—prompted by its strong element of German blood—feels itself part of the Reich again as it was in the best periods of its history, then the 1938 frontier will no longer divide Bohemia and Moravia from the Reich, but unite them with it. Then, too, our German task will be fulfilled—to be a mother and a Reich also to those small nations of Central and Eastern Europe that need our leadership and our protection. The Sudeten Germans as frontier Germans have always understood their responsibility. The present frontier between the Reich and the Protectorate is a temporary thing. Life goes on. The fate of Europe will always depend on a lasting reconciliation between Bohemia and Moravia and the Reich."

One reason for quoting this semi-official speech of Ernst Frank's is because it immediately preceded the official speech made by the Secretary of State, Karl Hermann Frank, on October 18, 1942, which we quoted at the beginning of the chapter. If Ernst Frank says that the fate of Europe is dependent on 'a lasting reconciliation between Bohemia and Moravia and the Reich,' that is the literal truth. But the fate of Europe will vary according to the nature of this reconciliation. The reconciliation desired by Ernst Frank means for the Czech nation the reconciliation of death. As soon as the Czech nation again feels itself part of the Reich—when, in other words, it no longer feels Czechoslovak—and according to the Nazi theories the admixture of German blood in the Czechs promises this—then there will be no further need for a Protectorate. In other words, when the Germanization of the Czechoslovak nation is achieved it will be possible for the

H2353 – 0006

H2353 – 0007

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Excerpt from Lecture by Konrad Henlein, "The Fight for the Liberation of the Sudetens," delivered in Vienna on 4 March 1941. Quoted from "Four Fighting Years," a publication of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Information, London, 1943. At pp. 29-30.

"National Socialism soon swept over us Sudeten Germans. Our struggle was of a different character from that in Germany. Although we had to behave differently in public we were, of course, secretly in touch with the National Socialist revolution in Germany so that we might be a part of it. The struggle for Greater Germany was waged on Sudeten soil, too. This struggle could be waged only by those inspired by the spirit of National Socialism, persons who were true followers of our Fuehrer, whatever their outward appearance. Fate sought me out to be the leader of the national group in its final struggle. When . . . in autumn, 1933, the leaders of the NSDAP asked me to take over the political leadership of the Sudeten Germans, I had a difficult problem to solve. Should the National Socialist Party continue to be carried on illegally or should the movement, in the interest of the self-preservation of the Sudeten Germans and in order to prepare their return to the Reich, wage its struggle under camouflage and by methods which appeared quite legal to the outside world? For us Sudeten Germans only the second alternative seemed possible, for the preservation of our national group was at stake. It would certainly have been easier to exchange this hard and mentally exhausting struggle for the heroic gesture of confessing allegiance to National Socialism and entering a Czechoslovak prison. But it seemed more than doubtful whether by this means we could have fulfilled the political task of destroying Czechoslovakia as a bastion in the alliance against the German Reich."

PARTIAL TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENT 2863-PS
OFFICE OF U.S. CHIEF OF COUNSEL

Auszug aus einem von Konrad Henlein gehaltenen Vortrag, am 4.Maerz1941

"Der Freiheitskampf der Sudetendeutschen "

Citiert aus: "Vier Jahre des Kampfes" eine Veroeffentlichung des Tschechoslowakischen Aussenministeriums, Abteilung fuer Informationen, London 1943 Seite 29/30

Der Nationalsozialismus riss uns Sudetendeutsche bald mit. Unser Kampf war einer anderen Art denn der in Deutschland. Obgleich wir uns in der Oeffentlichkeit anders betragen mussten, standen wir natuerlich im Geheimen mit der Nationalsozialistischen Revolution in Beruehrung damit wir ein Teil davon sein konnten. Der Kampf fuer Grossdeutschland wurde auch auf Sudetendeutschen Boden gefuehrt. Dieser konnte nur von denen gefuehrt werden, die vom Geiste des Nationalsozialismus beseelt waren, Leute die wirkliche Anhaenger unseres Fuehrers waren, ohne Ruecksicht darauf, was sie nach aussenhin erschienen. Das Schicksal hat mich als Fuehrer der Volksgruppe fuer den Endkampf ausgesucht. Als mich im Herbst 1933 die Fuehrer der NSDAP ersuchten, die Leitung der Sudetendeutschen zu uebernehmen, hatte ich eineschwere Aufgabe zu loesen. Soll die Nationalsozialistische Partei weiter illegal bestehen oder soll die Bewegung im Intresse der Selbsterhaltung der Sudetendeutschen und um deren Rueckkehr zum Reich vorzubereiten ihren Kampf verschleiert und mit Methoden die der Aussenwelt legal erschienen fuehren?
Nur die zweite Moeglichkeit schien fuer uns Sudetendeutsche gegeben, denn die Erhaltung unserer Volksgruppe stand auf dem Spiele. Es waere sicherlich leichter gewesen diesen harten und geistig aufreibenden Kampf gegen die heroische Geste der Zugehoerigkeitserklaerung zum Nationalsozialismus und tschechoslowakische Gefaengnishaft einzutauschen. Aber es erscheint mehr als zweifelhaft, ob wir mit diesen Mitteln, die politische Aufgabe die Tschechoslowakei als Hochburg des Buendnisses gegen das Deutsche Reich haetten erfuellen koennen.

CERTIFICATE OF TRANSLATION
OF DOCUMENT 2863-PS

1. December 1945

I, Tec 4 LUDWIG HARTMANN, 37446052, hereby certify that I am thoroughly conversant with the English and German languages; and that the above is a true and correct translation of Document 2863-PS.

LUDWIG HARTMANN
Tec 4
37446052

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"Four Fighting Years" 1E

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